

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 09656 222158Z

73

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

----- 061243

P R 221950Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 688

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L VIENNA 9656

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: HUNGARIAN STATEMENT IN NOVEMBER 22 PLENARY

1. TEXT OF HUNGARIAN STATEMENT DELIVERED IN NOVEMBER 22
PLENARY FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THIS MORNING I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE SOME COMMENTS. THEY
RELATE TO THE AIM OF OUR TALKS, TO THE NATURE OF THE EXCHANGE
OF VIEWS WE HAD UP TO NOW AS WELL AS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 VIENNA 09656 222158Z

EFFECTIVE PROGRESS IN THE LIGHT OF THE INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE

FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES - CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION - ON NOVEMBER 8.

2. WHEN STUDYING THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE ON THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS AND THE STATEMENTS MADE UP TO NOQ BY THE DELEGATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ONE CAN CONCLUDE THAT THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING AS TO THE GOAL OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH IS TO WORK OUT A CONCRETE AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IN OUR OPINION THIS MEANS IN PRACTICE THAT THE REDUCTION OF BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS STATIONED ON THE TERRITORIES OF BELGIUM, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GDR, THE FRG, LUXEMBURG, THE NETHERLANDS AND POLAND HAS TO BE REALIZED. FOR THE ELABORATION OF SUCH MEASURES WE HAVE SET, AS HAS ALSO BEEN EMPHASIZED BY SEVERAL OTHER SPEAKERS, THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROCEDURAL FRAMEWORK AND WE HAVE ALSO ADOPTED THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES ON THE BASIS OF WHICH WE CAN CONTINUE OUR DELIBERATIONS.

3. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES A QUESTION INEVITABLY ARISES, AS TO HOW WE ARE TRYING TO REACH OR, AS I WOULD ONLY SAY YET TO APPROACH THE ATTAINMENT OF THE GOAL AS SET. THE DECISION AS TO THE METHODS MAY BE, BESIDE THE READINESS TO SEEK MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS, VITAL FOR THE EFFECTIVE PROGRESS OF OUR WORK.

4. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE WISH TO SAY OPENLY, THAT WE HAVE DOUBTS AND, WHAT IS MORE, OBJECTIONS AS TO THE GENERAL METHOD OF PRESENTATION ACCORDING TO WHICH WE SHOULD PROCEED FROM THE GENERAL TO THE SPECIFIC AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF CERTAIN WESTERN COUNTRIES. SUCH AN APPROACH - I AM AFRAID - REVEALS THAT STRONGLY BIASED CONCLUSIONS ARE ALREADY LATENT AND HIDDEN IN THE ARBITRARILY PICKED OUT PREMISES. WE DRAW THIS CONCLUSION FROM LISTENING TO THE PRESENTATIONS OF THIS KIND WHICH WE HAVE HEARD SO FAR ON THE SO-CALLED PROBLEM OF DISPARITIES.

5. WE ARE TOLD THAT WHAT HAS BEEN REFERRED TO IN CONNECTION WITH THE SO-CALLED DIPARITIES, ARE OBJECTIVE FACTS. HOWEVER, FOR US AT LEAST IT SEEMS THAT IN THE CASE OF OUR DELIBERATIONS THE WAY OF APPROACH WHICH CHOOSES AND GROUPS INDIVIDUAL FACTS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 VIENNA 09656 222158Z

OR CIRCUMSTANCES AT DISCRETION AND DOES NOT CONSIDER OTHER FACTORS WHICH ARE NEVERTHELESS NOT AT ALL NEGLIGIBLE, CAN HARDLY BE CALLED AN OBJECTIVE ONE - AS HAS BEEN VERY CONVINCINGLY DEMONSTRATED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF POLAND IN HIS STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 13. IT IS NECESSARY TO POINT TO IT BECAUSE WE ALL KNOW VERY WELL THAT THE SUBJECT MATTER OF OUR CONSIDERATIONS CONSISTS OF COMPLEX FACTORS UNSEPARABLY LINKED WITH EACH OTHER AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS.

6. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES WE DEEM IT VERY IMPORTANT THAT OUR WAYS OF APPROACH, OUR CONSIDERATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS BE ALSO COMPLEX. IGNORING COMPLEXITY WOULD MEAN THE NON-OBSERVANCE OF THIS OR THAT COMPONENT OF THE EQUILIBRIUM OF MILITARY FORCES INVOLVED IN THE AREA. IN OUR OPINION THE OBJECTIVE FACT THAT CAPABILITIES OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS ARE DETERMINED BY THE WHOLE COMPLEX OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS STATIONED IN THE AREA, OBVIOUSLY CANNOT BE IGNORED IN THE COURSE OF OUR DELIBERATIONS.

7. IN OUR JUDGEMENT THE MOST REASONABLE AND MOST EFFICIENT WAY WOULD BE TO CONTINUE OUR NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE ALREADY ESTABLISHED CONDITIONS ON THE BASIS OF A CONCRETE INSTRUMENT, I.E. A DRAFT AGREEMENT. THIS WOULD CORRESPOND ENTIRELY TO WHAT HAS BEEN FORMULATED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 28 AS FOLLOWS:"...AN UNDERSTANDING WHOULD BE REACHED TO CONDUCT THE NEGOTIATIOS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENSURE THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND THOROUGH APPROACH TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, WITH DUE REGARD TO ITS COMPLEXITY". THIS RECOGNITION HAS UNDOUBTEDLY GUIDED THE DELEGATIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GDR, POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION WHEN THEY SUBMITTED ON NOVEMBER 8 THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENT CONSISTING OF 10 ARTICLES ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS HAS BEEN EXPRESSED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION, AMBASSADOR KHLESTOV, WHEN ON BEHALF OF THE CO-SPONSORS HE SUBMITTED THE DRAFT AND SAID: "WE ARE...CONVICED THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE MORE PRODUCTIVE IF THEY PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF A CONCRETE DOCUMENT." AND HE ADDED: "THE EXPERIENCE OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND TALKS CONFIRMS THAT SUCH DOCUMENTS ENABLE THE PARTICIPANTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THEM MORE PROMPTLY AND EFFICIENTLY." WE ON OUR PART WELCOME AND SUPPORT THIS CONCRETE AND CONSTRUCTIVE INITIATIVE OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 VIENNA 09656 222158Z

COUNTRIES AND CONSIDER IT AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION WHICH WOULD ALLOW OUR DISCUSSIONS TO BE CONCRETE AND TO LEAD TO TANGIBLE RESULTS. WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE CO-SPONSOR STATES HAVE INTRODUCED THE DRAFT DOCUMENT IN A THOROUGH, COMPREHENSIVE AND CONVINCING WAY. THEIR INTRODUCTIONS HAVE ALSO DEMONSTRATED THAT THE DRAFT MAY GIVE A GOOD BASIS TO OUR NEGOTIATIONS ON SUBSTANCE DURING WHICH OUR PRINCIPAL AIM SHOULD BE TO OBTAIN CONCRETE RESULTS.

8. THE STUDY OF THE DOCUMENT IN QUESTION SHOWS, WHAT HAS ALSO BEEN STRESSED BY THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE CO-SPONSOR STATES, THAT THE DRAFT CONTAINS PROPOSALS ON THE FULFILMENT OF COMPREHENSIVE, CONCRETE AND REALISTIC MEASURES. IT TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH AN UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN REACHED. THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN AGREED

UPON AND DETERMINED HAVE ALSO BEEN TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION. SUCH ARE FOR INSTANCE THE LIST OF STATES POTENTIALLY PARTICIPATING IN THE MEASURES TO BE ADOPTED OR THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA SUBJECT TO THE SAME AS SET OUT IN ITS ARTICLE 1. THE DRAFT ALSO CONTAINS CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS OF OTHER STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

9. WE CONSIDER IT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT THE DRAFT PROVIDES FOR THE REDUCTION OF ALL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, INCLUDING THE REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

10. SIMILARLY TO OTHERS, WE, TOO, ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THE PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURES ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AS CONTAINED IN THE DRAFT, WOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF EITHER PARTY AND WOULD NOT RESULT IN UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES FOR ANYBODY, I.E. IT WOULD NOT UPSET THE EQUILIBRIUM OF FORCES IN THE AREA. WE ARE ALSO CONVINCED THAT THIS APPROACH CORRESPONDS TO THE INTERESTS OF SAFEGUARDING THE SECURITY OF ALL EUROPEAN STATES, INCLUDING THOSE HAVING A SPECIAL STATUS AT THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

11. WE ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE REALIZATION OF THE PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WILL PROVIDE FOR AN EFFECTIVE MILITARY DETENTE IN EUROPE. AND THIS WOULD, AS FORMULATED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE ON THE PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS, "CONTRIBUTE TO A CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 VIENNA 09656 222158Z

MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE."

12. FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES ON OCTOBER 31 AND BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM ON NOVEMBER 8 AND ON NOVEMBER 20 CONCERNING HUNGARY, I WISH TO REITERATE WHAT WAS STATED BY THE HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE MAY 14 PLENARY OF THE PRELIMINARY TALKS: "AS THE REPRESENTATIVES OF HUNGARY AND OF OTHER SOCIALIST STATES HAVE EXPLAINED DURING THE COURSE OF THE CONSULTATIONS, HUNGARY COULD CONSIDER PARTICIPATION IN POSSIBLE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS, OR MEASURES ONLY IF THE APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS ARE FULFILLED". AND THESE CONDITIONS ARE WELL KNOWN TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. THIS IS OUR INALTERABLE POSITION. END TEXT.HUMES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECURITY, AGREEMENTS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, MEETINGS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA09656
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731118/aaaaamru.tel
Line Count: 216
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28-Aug-2001 by smithrj>; APPROVED <31-Oct-2001 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: HUNGARIAN STATEMENT IN NOVEMBER 22 PLENARY
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005